

R
842.9
.K45
1963

NEITHER THE FANATICS
NOR THE
FAINT HEARTED

JOHN H. JENKINS

JENKINS



KENNEDY'S TOUR OF TEXAS

DATE DUE

07/22/14

Southwest Texas State University Library
Kennedy, John F. (John F.)
Neither the fanatics nor the / 000
010148
0 11 22 0098080 6

THE LIBRARY

Southwest Texas State University

San Marcos, Texas

E
842.9
.K45
1963



a176957c

NEITHER THE FANATICS
Nor The
FAINT-HEARTED

The Tour Leading to the President's Death and the
Two Speeches He Could Not Give.

BY
JOHN H. JENKINS

NEITHER THE FANATICS
Nor The
FAINT-HEARTED

The Tour Leading to the President's Death and the
Two Speeches He Could Not Give.

BY
JOHN H. JENKINS

THE PEMBERTON PRESS
1 PEMBERTON PARKWAY
AUSTIN TEXAS

Special Contents Copyrighted 1963

THE PEMBERTON PRESS
AUSTIN, TEXAS

THE LIBRARY
Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, Texas

"And so, fellow citizens, ask not what your country
can do for you, but what you can do for your country."
—John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address

CONTENTS

President Kennedy's Tour of Texas	1
The President's Dallas Speech	5
The President's Austin Speech	11

President Kennedy's Tour of Texas

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy flew to Texas on the morning of November 21, 1963, for what was to be a highly political "non-political whirlwind tour" of the Lone Star State. The trip was made with a view towards gaining Democratic votes in the forthcoming election and towards patching up intra-party petty feuding which was endangering cohesion of the various factions of the Democratic Party of Texas.

The Presidential airplane, the Air Force One, arrived in San Antonio around noon with the President, the First Lady, Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, Sen. Ralph Yarborough, and others. Texas' ailing political situation came to light immediately when Senator Yarborough, after shaking hands coldly with greeting Governor John Connally, smashed the surface harmony with a complaint that he had been snubbed by the governor, who had not invited him to a reception for the President in Austin the next day. He claimed that his constituents had insisted that he bring the insult out in the open. The feud, which promised to provide the fuel for gossip which would make the President's tour worth reading about to such far-off towns as El Paso, Big Springs, and Sour Lake, was thereby begun.

The people in San Antonio, however, cared only about the President and the First Lady. One-fourth of the town's total population, which is about 600,000, greeted the Presidential party. Kennedy spoke at the dedication of the U. S. Air Force School of Aerospace Medicine at Brooks Air Force Base, and appeared not to notice the empty seats of some of the dignitaries who, it was quickly thought, did not attend because Senator Yarborough had been slighted. It turned out that the empty seats belonged to the Attorney-General of Texas, Waggoner Carr, and the Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives, Byron Tunnell, who were held up when their driver made a wrong turn away from the procession and when, having finally arrived at the air base, they were "challenged by an airman, the two state officials were unable to produce security clearance badges and thus had to watch from the sidelines."

The President visited astronauts at work on metabolism tests, then with his entourage flew on to Houston, where close to 300,000 people were waiting to see and hear him. In that city Senator Yarborough refused to ride, as per arrangements, with Lyndon Johnson, because he was Governor Connally's pal. The Vice President was not miffed; he sauntered into the airport lobby and got a haircut while the President shook hands with the crowd. Houston was not quite so responsive as San Antonio had been: overhead an airplane circled with a banner reading "Coexistence Is Surrender."

Kennedy spoke at a dinner in honor of Congressman Albert Thomas, and appeared briefly at a meeting of the League of United Latin American

Citizens; Mrs. Kennedy spoke to the latter in Spanish. The Presidential party then left for Fort Worth late Thursday night.

My wife and I had been visiting there with friends, and we were graciously offered tickets for the banquet to be given tonight (Friday) in Austin for the President. We quickly accepted and drove downtown with our host to his office to pick them up. Before leaving for Dallas, where we were to spend the night, President Kennedy arrived and we watched as he passed, stopped at his hotel, and walked across the street to shake hands with onlookers, some of whom had waited all evening for him to appear. It was nearly midnight, and he looked very tired, but in good spirits.

(This morning Kennedy addressed a crowd of ten thousand in front of Hotel Texas, and was all but drowned out by cheers.) An over-zealous newsman reported that "although the President's clipped tone was just about as foreign an accent as Fort Worth had ever heard," his audience was "super-friendly." The speech was followed by an address to 2,500 at a breakfast inside the hotel. Senator Yarborough seemed to have forgotten his trouble with the governor, although there had previously been quibbling over the seating arrangements for the Fort Worth breakfast. Raymond Buck, president of the Chamber of Commerce, had insisted some days before that there be no nonsense. All was now well within the Texas Democratic Party.

The First Lady did not appear with the President, and he quipped that she was "busy arranging herself . . . it takes a little longer, you know, but then she looks so much better than we do." And when the beautiful lady did enter, to enthusiastic applause, he said: "A few years ago I introduced myself in Paris as the man who accompanied Mrs. Kennedy to Europe. I have somewhat the same sensation here today." Then: "Nobody wonders what Lyndon and I wear."

It was raining early this morning and Buck told the President he had broken the drouth: "You have brought rain to moisten our pastures and our fields. You have brought sunshine to our hearts."

Afterwards Kennedy spent a long time shaking hands outside the hotel. The entourage left at 10:40 and drove to Carswell Air Force Base where the Kennedys boarded the presidential plane and made the quick jump to Love Field in Dallas. The *Times Herald* of Dallas reported: "And for a man whose political fortunes in Texas are supposed to be at the brink of the grave, the President is showing an amazing amount of life." When Kennedy's plane landed in Dallas, the rain had stopped and the cloud covering had begun to break.

I had business downtown in Dallas, and took time to read the local newspapers about Kennedy's itinerary. A map showing his route was printed, and the following heading caught my eye: "SECRET SERVICE SURE ALL SECURE. The only security item that wasn't investigated in preparation for President Kennedy's visit to Dallas Friday was literally the air the President and Mrs. Kennedy would breathe. . . . Everything else got the treatment—the food the Kennedys were to eat, the flowers they would sniff and admire, the friends who would cheer, the enemies who would jeer, the

roads they would travel, the newsmen who would report. . . . A list, name by name, of known agitators in Dallas who might possibly be inclined to stir up trouble was obtained. Agents became familiar with them, their patterns. A motorcade route was checked out next. Trouble spots were spotted both in traffic and possible crowd situations."

In the Dallas *Morning News* there was a full-page advertisement by "The American Fact-Finding Committee" devoted entirely to smearing the President. It asked rhetorical questions, such as: "Why has Gus Hall, head of the U. S. Communist Party, praised almost every one of your policies and announced that the party will endorse and support your re-election in 1964?" and "Why have you scrapped the Monroe Doctrine in favor of the 'Spirit of Moscow'?" It said: "We free-thinking and American-thinking citizens of Dallas still have, through a Constitution largely ignored by you, the right to address our grievances," and claimed that not Stevenson but the City of Dallas had been "disgraced by a recent Liberal smear attempt."

Another article pointed out that of the eight previous Presidents to visit Dallas, Roosevelt was the only Democrat to visit while in office, and an editorial said that he "was heard to mumble . . . about 'into the jaws of hell.'" Still another "newsy" article expressed worry that the parakeets which fly freely in the Trade Mart, where Kennedy was to luncheon and make a speech, should be diapered because, "What If?" That was the general tenor of the *Morning News*.

Richard Nixon and Joan Crawford had been in town yesterday for a Pepsi-Cola board meeting, and it was remarked that, while the actress had a policeman guard her hotel door all night for fear of jewelry burglars, Nixon down the hall had none.

A policewoman had just received a surprise invitation to attend the Trade Mart luncheon and was thrilled, since she "had made plans to watch the presidential motorcade from a window of the police building," which was diagonally across the street from the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Despite the mood of the rest of the paper, the lead editorial said that "we hope that Democrats and Republicans and independents unite today in a genuineness of welcome and cordiality," although the major part of the editorial was composed of self-praise of Dallas: "It is quite a town. . . . It is vibrant, optimistic, stylish. . . ." One tiny letter to the editor was printed near the end, from a man in Waco: "Let's show the Kennedys Texas people have good manners."

I went to downtown Dallas at the same time the Presidential motorcade was passing. My wife had given strict instructions for me to get my business over quickly so we could return to Austin in time for her to get her hair done; we were both excited about getting to attend the Kennedy dinner in Austin at 7:30 p.m. Nevertheless, I delayed long enough to watch the President, and noticed what was certainly genuine happiness on his face—the unexpected pleasure of having received a good welcome. I went on to attend to my business, and then it happened.

The shots, the look, the fall—hearing the news I rushed away to pick up my wife and then to Parkland Hospital, where we watched two priests rush in, and then about one o'clock, were informed of the President's death. A crowd had gathered, some crying, others too shaken to do anything but stare vacantly, while everyone—policemen, secret service, city officials, Senator Yarborough, Rep. Jim Wright, and others—was completely stunned not only by the terrible event, but also the swiftness with which it occurred.

Never too swift for the press, however, who soon had a large mobile unit, looking somewhat like a green fire engine, with cameras poring into everyone's grief. Only a few moments had passed, it seemed, when a hearse, light-colored, with a bronze casket made its way through the crowd. Mrs. Kennedy, her legs splattered with blood, followed her husband into the hearse, the curtains were drawn, and swiftly, silently, incredibly some sixty or seventy minutes after watching his happy grin, I watched his hearse leave for Love Field.

The day by that time had cleared—a beautiful, bright-blue sky with long, ruler-straight shafts of clouds jutting southward. A quickening wind announced the approach of the fall's first Texas Norther.

It is late in the evening now, and I am looking at the program for tonight's dinner, which is entitled:

"TEXAS WELCOME"

Inside the cover is an introduction by Governor John Connally, stating in part: "On this twenty-second day of November, 1963, the welcoming committee (consisting of all the citizens of Texas) greets the two leaders of our nation." It ends: "This is a day long to be remembered in Texas."

John H. Jenkins

November 22, 1963

The President's Dallas Speech

[This is the speech that was to be delivered in Dallas at the Dallas Trade Mart at a luncheon in his honor:]

I am honored to have this invitation to address the annual meeting of the Dallas Citizens Council, joined by the members of the Dallas Assembly—and pleased to have this opportunity to salute the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest.

It is fitting that these two symbols of Dallas progress are united in the sponsorship of this meeting. For they represent the best qualities, I am told, of leadership and learning in this city—and leadership and learning are indispensable to each other. The advancement of learning depends on community leadership for financial support—and the products of that learning, in turn, are essential to the leadership's hopes for continued progress and prosperity. It is not a coincidence that those communities possessing the best in research and graduate facilities—from MIT to Cal Tech—tend to attract the new and growing industries. I congratulate those of you here in Dallas who have recognized these basic facts through the creation of the unique and forward-looking Graduate Research Center.

This link between leadership and learning is not only essential at the community level. It is even more indispensable in world affairs. Ignorance and misinformation can handicap the progress of a city or a company—but they can, if allowed to prevail in foreign policy, handicap this country's security. In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible will gain the popular ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions in every world problem.

There will always be dissident voices heard in the land, expressing opposition without alternatives, finding fault but never favor, perceiving gloom on every side and seeking influence without responsibility. Those voices are inevitable.

But today other voices are heard in the land—voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality, wholly unsuited to the sixties, doctrines which apparently assume that words will suffice without weapons, that vituperation is as good as victory and that peace is a sign of weakness. At a time when the national debt is steadily being reduced in terms of its burden on our economy, they see that debt as the greatest single threat to our security. At a time when we are steadily reducing the number of fed-

eral employees serving every thousand citizens, they fear those supposed hordes of servants far more than the actual hordes of opposing armies.

We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will "talk sense to the American people." But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. And the notion that this nation is headed for defeat through deficit, or just strength is but a matter of slogans, is nothing but just plain nonsense.

I want to discuss with you today the status of our strength and our security because this question clearly calls for the most responsible qualities of leadership and the most enlightened products of scholarship. For this nation's strength and security are not easily or cheaply obtained—nor are they quickly and simply explained. There are many kinds of strength and no one kind will suffice. Overwhelming nuclear strength cannot stop a guerrilla war. Formal pacts of alliance cannot stop internal subversion, displays of material wealth cannot stop the disillusionment of diplomats subjected to discrimination. Above all, words alone are not enough. The United States is a peaceful nation. And where our strength and determination are clear, our words need merely to convey conviction, not belligerence. If we are strong, our strength will speak for itself. If we are weak, words will be of no help.

I realize that this nation often tends to identify turning-points in world affairs with the major addresses which preceded them. But it was not the Monroe Doctrine that kept all Europe away from this hemisphere—it was the strength of the British fleet and the width of the Atlantic Ocean. It was not General Marshall's speech at Harvard which kept communism out of Western Europe—it was the strength and stability made possible by our military and economic assistance.

In this administration also it has been necessary at times to issue specific warnings—warnings that we could not stand by and watch the Communists conquer Laos by force, or intervene in the Congo, or swallow West Berlin or maintain offensive missiles on Cuba. But while our goals were at least temporarily obtained in those and other instances, our successful defense of freedom was due—not to the words we used—but to the strength we stood ready to use on behalf of the principles we stand ready to defend.

This strength is composed of many different elements, ranging from the most massive deterrents to the most subtle influences. And all types of strength are needed—no one kind could do the job alone. Let us take a moment, therefore, to review this nation's progress in each major area of strength.

First, as Secretary McNamara made clear in his address last Monday, the strategic nuclear power of the United States has been so greatly modernized and expanded in the last 1,000 days, by the rapid production and deployment of the most modern missile systems, that any and all potential aggressors are clearly confronted now with the impossibility of strategic victory—and the certainty of total destruction—if by reckless attack they should ever force upon us the necessity of a strategic reply.

In less than three years, we have increased by 50 per cent the number of Polaris submarines scheduled to be in force by the next fiscal year—increased by more than 70 per cent our total Polaris purchase program—increased by more than 75 per cent our minuteman purchase program—increased by 50 per cent the portion of our strategic bombers on 15-minute alert—and increased by 100 per cent the total number of nuclear weapons available in our strategic alert forces. Our security is further enhanced by the steps we have taken regarding these weapons to improve the speed and certainty of their response, their readiness at all times to respond, their ability to attack and survive an attack and their ability to be carefully controlled and directed through secure command operations.

But the lessons of the last decade have taught us that freedom cannot be defended by strategic nuclear power alone. We have, therefore, in the last three years accelerated the development and deployment of tactical nuclear weapons—and increased by 60 per cent the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe.

Nor can Europe or any other continent rely on nuclear forces alone, whether they are strategic or tactical. We have radically improved the readiness of our conventional forces—increased by 100 per cent the procurement of modern army weapons and equipment—increased by 100 per cent our ship construction, conversion and modernization program—increased by 100 percent our procurement of tactical aircraft—increased by 30 per cent the number of tactical air squadrons—and increased the strength of the Marines. As last month's "Operation Big Lift"—which originated here in Texas—showed so clearly, this nation is prepared as never before to move substantial numbers of men in surprisingly little time to advanced positions anywhere in the world. We have increased by 175 per cent the procurement of airlift aircraft—and we have already achieved a 75 per cent increase in our existing strategic airlift capability.

Finally, moving beyond the traditional roles of our military forces, we have achieved an increase of nearly 600 per cent in our special forces—those forces that are prepared to work with our allies and friends against the guerrillas, saboteurs, insurgents and assassins who threaten freedom in a less direct but equally dangerous manner.

But American military might should not and need not stand alone against the ambitions of internal Communism. Our security and strength, in the last analysis, directly depend on the security and strength of others—and that is why our military and economic assistance plays such a key role in enabling those who live on the periphery of the Communist world to maintain their independence of choice. Our assistance to these nations can be painful, risky and costly—as is true in Southeast Asia today. But we dare not weary of the task. For our assistance makes possible the stationing of 3.5 million allied troops along the Communist frontier at one-tenth of the cost of maintaining a comparable number of American soldiers. A successful Communist breakthrough in these areas, necessitating direct United States intervention, would cost us several times as much as our entire foreign aid program—and might cost us heavily in American lives as well.

About 70 per cent of our military assistance goes to nine key countries located on or near the borders of the Communist bloc—nine countries confronted directly or indirectly with the threat of Communist aggression—Viet Nam, Free China, Korea, India, Pakistan, Thailand, Greece, Turkey and Iran. No one of these countries possesses on its own the resources to maintain the forces which our own chiefs of staff think needed in the common interest. Reducing our efforts to train, equip and assist their armies can only encourage Communist penetration and require in time the increased overseas deployment of American combat forces. And reducing the economic help needed to bolster these nations that undertake to help defend freedom can have the same disastrous result. In short, the \$50 billion we spend each year on our own defense could well be ineffective without the \$4 billion required for military and economic assistance.

Our foreign aid program is not growing in size—it is, on the contrary, smaller now than in previous years. It has had its weaknesses—but we have undertaken to correct them—and the proper way of treating weaknesses is to replace them with strength, not to increase those weaknesses by emasculating essential programs. Dollar for dollar, in or out of government, there is no better form of investment in our national security than our much-abused foreign aid program. We cannot afford to lose it. We can afford to maintain it. We can surely afford, for example, to do as much for our 19 needy neighbors of Latin America as the Communist bloc is sending to the island of Cuba alone.

I have spoken of strength largely in terms of the deterrence and resistance of aggression and attack. But, in today's world, freedom can be lost without a shot being fired, by hallots as well as bullets. The success of our leadership is dependent upon respect for our mission in the world as well as our missiles—on a clearer recognition of the virtues of freedom as well as the evils of tyranny.

That is why our information agency has doubled the shortwave broadcasting power of the Voice of America and increased the number of broadcasting hours by 30 per cent—increased Spanish language broadcasting to Cuba and Latin America from one to nine hours a day—increased sevenfold to more than 3.5 million copies the number of American books being translated and published for Latin American readers and taken a host of other steps to carry our message of truth and freedom to all the far corners of the earth.

And that is also why we have regained the initiative in the exploration of outer space—making an annual effort greater than the combined total of all space activities undertaken during the 50s—launching more than 130 vehicles into earth orbit—putting into actual operation valuable weather and communications satellites—and making it clear to all that the United States of America has no intention of finishing second in space.

This effort is expensive—but it pays its own way, for freedom and for America. For there is no longer any fear in the free world that a Communist lead in space will become a permanent assertion of supremacy and the basis of military superiority. There is no longer any doubt about the strength and skill of American science, American industry, American education and the American free enterprise system. In short, our national

space effort represents a great gain in, and a great resource of, our national strength—and both Texas and Texans are contributing greatly to this strength.

Finally, it should be clear by now that a nation can be no stronger abroad than she is at home. Only an America which practices what it preaches about equal rights and social justice will be respected by those whose choice affects our future. Only an America which has fully educated its citizens is fully capable of tackling the complex problems and perceiving the hidden dangers of the world in which we live. And only an America which is growing and prospering economically can sustain the worldwide defenses of freedom, while demonstrating to all concerned the opportunities of our system and society.

It is clear, therefore, that we are strengthening our security as well as our economy by our recent record increases in national income and output—by surging ahead of most of Western Europe in the rate of business expansion.

And the margin of corporate profits—by maintaining a more stable level of prices than almost any of our overseas competitors—and by cutting personal and corporate income taxes by some \$11 billion, as I have proposed, to assure this nation of the longest and strongest expansion in our peace time history.

This nation's total output—which three years ago was at the \$500 billion mark—will soon pass \$600 billion, for a record rise of over \$100 billion in three years. For the first time in history we have 70 million men and women at work. For the first time in history average factory earnings have exceeded \$100 a week. For the first time in history corporation profits after taxes—which have risen 43 per cent in less than three years—have reached an annual level of \$27.4 billion.

My friends and fellow citizens; I cite these facts and figures to make it clear that America today is stronger than ever before. Our adversaries have not abandoned their ambitions—our dangers have not diminished—our vigilance cannot be relaxed. But now we have the military, the scientific and the economic strength to do whatever must be done for the preservation.

That strength will never be used in pursuit of aggressive ambitions—it will always be used in pursuit of peace. It will never be used to promote provocations—It will always be used to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes.

We in this country, in this generation, are—by destiny rather than choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility—that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint—and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of “peace on earth, good will toward men.” That must always be our goal—and the righteousness of our case must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago: “Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.”

The President's Austin Speech

[This is the speech that was to be delivered in Austin at the Municipal Auditorium at a dinner in his and Vice President Johnson's honor:]

One hundred and eighteen years ago last March, President John Tyler signed the joint resolution of Congress providing statehood for Texas. And 118 years ago next month, President James Polk declared that Texas was part of the Union.

Both Tyler and Polk were Democratic presidents, and from that day to this Texas and the Democratic Party have been linked in an indestructible alliance—an alliance for the promotion of prosperity, growth and greatness for Texas and for America.

Next year that alliance will sweep this state and nation.

The historic bonds that link Texas and the Democratic Party are no temporary union of convenience. They are deeply imbedded in the history and purpose of this state and party. The Democratic Party is not a collection of diverse interests brought together only to win election. We are united instead by a common history and heritage—by a respect for the needs of the past and a recognition of the needs of the future.

Never satisfied with today, we have always staked our fortunes on tomorrow. That is the kind of state Texas has always been—that is the kind of vision and vitality which Texans have always possessed—and that is the reason why Texas will always be basically Democratic.

For 118 years, Texas and the Democratic Party have contributed to each other's success. This state's rise to prosperity and wealth came primarily from the policies and programs of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. Those policies were shaped and enacted with the help of such men as the late Sam Rayburn and a host of other key Congressmen—by the former Texas Congressman and Senator who serves now as my strong right arm, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson—by your present US Senator Ralph Yarborough—and by an over-whelming proportion of Democratic leadership at the state and county level, led by your distinguished Governor, John Connally.

It was the policy and programs of the Democratic Party which helped to bring income to your farmers, industries to your workers and the promotion and preservation of your natural resources.

No one who remembers the days of five-cent cotton, and thirty-cent oil will forget the ties between the success of this state and the success of our party.

Three years ago this fall I toured this state with Lyndon Johnson,

Sam Rayburn and Ralph Yarborough as your party's candidate for President. We pledged to increase America's strength against its enemies, its prestige among its friends, and the opportunities it offered to its citizens. Those pledges have been fulfilled. The words spoken in Texas have been transformed into actions in Washington, and we have America moving again.

Here in Austin, I pledged in 1960 to restore world confidence in the vitality and energy of American society. That pledge has been fulfilled. We have won the respect of allies and adversaries alike through our determined stand on behalf of freedom around the world from West Berlin to Southeast Asia—through our resistance to Communist intervention in the Congo and Communist missiles in Cuba—and through our initiative in attaining the nuclear test ban treaty which can stop the pollution of our atmosphere and start us on the path to peace again.

In San Jose and Mexico City, in Bonn and West Berlin, in Rome and County Cork, I saw and heard and felt a new appreciation for America on the move and an America which has shown it cares about the needy of its own and other lands, an America which has shown that freedom is the way to the future, an America which is known to be first in the effort for peace as well as preparedness.

In Amarillo I pledged in 1960 that the businessmen of this state and nation—particularly the small businessman, who is the backbone of our economy—will move ahead as our economy moved ahead. That pledge has been fulfilled. Business profits—having risen 43 per cent in two and one-half years—now stand at a record high; and businessmen all over America are grateful for liberalized depreciation, for the investment tax credit, and for our program to increase their markets at home as well as abroad.

We have proposed a massive tax reduction, with particular benefits for small business. We have stepped up the activities of the Small Business Administration, making available in the last three years almost \$50 million to more than 1,000 Texas firms, doubling their opportunity to share in federal procurement contracts. Our party believes that what is good for American people is good for American business—and the last three years have proven the validity of that proposition.

In Grand Prairie, I pledged in 1960 that this country will no longer tolerate the lowest rate of economic growth of any major industrialized nation in the world. That pledge has been and is being fulfilled. In less than three years our national output will shortly have risen by a record \$100 billion—industrial production is up 22 per cent—personal income is up 16 per cent. And the Wall Street Journal pointed out a short time ago that the United States now leads most of Western Europe in the rate of business expansion and the margin of corporate profits. Here in Texas—where three years ago, at the very time I was speaking, real per capita personal income was actually declining as the industrial recession spread to this state—more than 200,000 new jobs have been created—unemployment has declined and personal income rose last year to an all-time high. This growth must go on. Those not sharing in this prosperity must be helped. That is why we have

an accelerated public works program, and area redevelopment program and a manpower training program—to keep this and other states moving ahead. And that is why we need a tax cut of \$11 billion, as an assurance of future growth and as insurance against an early recession. No period of economic recovery in the peacetime history of this nation has been characterized by both the length and strength of our present expansion—and we intend to keep it going.

In Dallas, I pledged in 1960 to step up the development of both our natural and our human resources. That pledge has been fulfilled. The policy of “no new starts” has been reversed. The Canadian River project will provide water for 11 Texas cities. The San Angelo Project will irrigate some 10,000 acres. We have launched 10 new watershed projects in Texas, completed seven others and laid plans for six more. A new national park, a new wildlife preserve, and other navigation, reclamation and natural resource projects are all under way in this state. At the same time, we have sought to develop the human resources of Texas and all the nation—granting loans to 17,500 Texas college students—making more than \$17 million available to 249 school districts—and expanding or providing rural library service to 600,000 Texas readers. And if this Congress passes, as now seems likely, pending bills to build college classrooms, increase student loans, build medical schools, provide more community libraries, and assist in the creation of graduate centers, then this Congress will have done more for the cause of education than has been done by any Congress in modern history. Civilization, it was once said, is a race between education and catastrophe—and we intend to win that race by education.

In Wichita Falls, I pledged in 1960 to increase farm income and reduce the burden of farm surpluses. That pledge has been fulfilled. Net farm income today is almost a billion dollars higher than in 1960. In Texas, net income per farm consistently averaged below the \$4,000 mark during the Benson regime—it is now well above it. And we have raised this income by reducing grain surpluses by 1 billion bushels. We have, at the same time, tackled the problem of the entire rural economy—extending more than twice as much credit to Texas farmers and to the Farmers Home Administration and making more than \$100 million in REA loans. We have not solved all the problems of American agriculture—but we have offered hope and a helping hand in place of Mr. Benson's indifference.

In San Antonio, I pledged in 1960 that a new administration would strive to secure for every American his full constitutional rights. That pledge has been and is being fulfilled. We have not yet secured the objectives desired or the legislation required. But we have, in the last three years, by working through voluntary leadership as well as legal action opened more new doors to members of minority groups—doors to transportation, voting, education, employment and places of public accommodation—than had been opened in any three-year or 30-year period in this century. There is no non-controversial way to fulfill our constitutional pledge to establish justice and promote domestic tranquility—but we intend to fulfill those obligations because they are right.

In Houston, I pledged in 1960 that we would set before the American

people the unfinished business of our society. That pledge has been fulfilled. We have undertaken the first full-scale revision of our tax laws in 10 years. We have launched a bold new attack on mental illness, emphasizing treatment in the patient's own home community instead of some vast custodial institution. We have initiated a full scale attack on mental retardation, emphasizing prevention instead of abandonment. We have revised our public welfare programs, emphasizing family rehabilitation instead of humiliation and we have proposed a comprehensive realignment of our national transportation policy, emphasizing equal competition instead of regulation. Our agenda is still long—but this country is moving again.

In El Paso, I pledged in 1960 that we would give the highest and earliest priority to the reestablishment of good relation with the people of Latin America. We are working to fulfill that pledge. An area long neglected has not solved all of its problems. The Communist foothold which had already been established has not yet been eliminated. But the trend of Communist expansion has been reversed. The name of Fidel Castro is no longer feared or cheered by substantial numbers in every country—and contrary to the prevailing prediction of three years ago, not another inch of Latin American territory has fallen prey to Communist control. Meanwhile, the work of reform and reconciliation goes on. I can testify from my trips to Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Costa Rica that American officials are no longer booed and spat upon South of the Border. Historic fences and friendships are being maintained. And Latin America, once the forgotten stepchild of our aid programs, now receives more economic assistance per capita than any other area of the world. In short, the United States is once more identified with the needs and aspirations of the people to the South—and we intend to meet those needs and aspirations.

In Texarkana, I pledged in 1960 that our country would no longer engage in a lagging space effort. That pledge has been fulfilled. We are not yet first in every field of space endeavor—but we have regained worldwide respect for our scientists; our industry, our education, and our free initiative.

In the last three years, we have increased our annual space effort to a greater level than the combined total of all space activities undertaken in 1950's. We have launched in the earth orbit more than four times as many space vehicles as had been launched in the previous three years. We have focused our wide-ranging efforts around a landing on the moon in this decade. We have put valuable weather and communications satellites into actual operation. We will fire this December the most powerful rocket ever developed anywhere in the world. And we have made it clear to all that the United States of America has no intention of finishing second in outer space. Texas will play a major role in this effort. The Manned Space Center in Houston will be the cornerstone of \$1 billion already allocated to that center this year. Even though space is an infant industry, more than 3,000 people are already employed in space activities here in Texas—more than \$100 million of space contracts are now being worked on in this state—and more than 50 space related firms have announced the opening of Texas offices. This is still a daring and dangerous frontier; and there are

those who would prefer to turn back or to take a more timid stance. But Texans have stood their ground on embattled frontiers before—and I know you will help us see this battle through.

In Fort Worth, I pledged in 1960 to build a national defense that was second to none, a position, I said, which is not "first, when" but—first period. That pledge has been fulfilled. In the past few years, we have increased our defense budget by over 20 per cent; increased the program for acquisition of Polaris submarines from 24 to 41; increased our Minute Man Missile purchase program by more than 75 per cent; doubled the number of strategic bombers and missiles on alert; doubled the number of nuclear weapons available in the Strategic Alert forces; increased the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe by 60 per cent; added five combat ready divisions and five tactical fighter wings for our Armed Forces; increased our strategic Air Lift capabilities by 75 per cent, and increased our special counter-insurgency forces by 600 per cent. We can truly say today, with pride in our voices and peace in our hearts, that the defensive forces of the United States are, without a doubt, the most powerful and resourceful forces anywhere in the world.

Finally, I said in Lubbock in 1960, as I said in every other speech in this state, that if Lyndon Johnson and I were elected, we would get this country moving again. That pledge has been fulfilled. In nearly every field of national activity this country is moving again—and Texas is moving with it. From public works to public health, wherever government programs operate, the past three years have shown a new burst of action and progress—in Texas and all over America. We have stepped up the fight against crime and slums and poverty in our cities, against the pollution of our streams, against unemployment in our industry and against waste in the federal government. We have built hospitals, clinics and nursing homes. We have launched a broad new attack on mental illness and mental retardation. We have initiated the training of more physicians and dentists. We have provided four times as much housing for our elderly citizens—and we have increased benefits for those on social security.

Almost everywhere we look, the story is the same. In Latin America, in Africa, in Asia—in the councils of the world and in the jungles of far off nations—there is now renewed confidence in our country and our convictions.

This country is moving, and it must not stop. It cannot stop. This is a time for courage and a time of challenge. Neither conformity nor complacency will do. Neither the fanatics nor the faint-hearted are needed. And our duty as a party is not to our party alone, but to the nation, and indeed to all mankind. Our duty is not merely power but the preservation peace and freedom.

So let us not be petty when our cause is so great. Let us not quarrel amongst ourselves when our nation's future is at stake. Let us stand together with renewed confidence in our case—united in our heritage of the past and our hopes for the future—and determined that this land we love shall lead all mankind into new frontiers of peace and abundance.